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First Principles in Religion, Morals, Government, and the Economy of Life.

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PROSPECTUS.

One object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound moral Christian reform, the abolition of slavery, caste, the run-train, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, due, business arrangements, and aims of life—in the individual, the family, the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Devil's law; our expediency, our cause, our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our penalty, the whole arm of God.

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FOURTH LETTER TO SENATOR SEWARD.

Hon. William H. Seward.

Sir: Having contrasted your elaborate speech in the Senate with its antecedents, having shown that your proposed measures of pacification would be unacceptable to all the belligerent parties, Southerns and Northern and Northern pro-slavery and Anti-Slavery, intended by you to be reconciled—having also shown that if those measures should be, for the time being, accepted, (as I think they will not be) and that if the seceding States should be induced to come back again, the pacification would be but superficial, and temporary, "the irrepressible conflict" certain to be re-opened again, more fiercely than ever, in consequence of your proposed concessions—I now ask your attention to another alternative, which is naturally suggested, by a review of your Speech, though not propounded by you.

You wish to avoid civil war and preserve peace and tranquility. For this I do not blame you. I am myself, a peace man, though believing that nothing but the "effect of righteousness is peace."¹ The question to be considered is,

"IN WHAT WAY CAN PEACE BE SECURED?"

The enforcement of law, and the support of Government, very evidently, are not, in the present exigency, among your methods of preserving peace. Government and law, along with justice and liberty, "Republicanism and every other political name and thing" must, you tell us, give way to the paramount claims of union and pacification.

But what if your proposed measures of pacification should fail of being accepted? Or what if, being accepted, they should prove ineffectual and delusive, producing still more violent agitation and strife?

What then, what next, is to be done?

You have not yet proposed, as some have, a peaceful separation of the States. But I cannot think of anything else which, from your stand-point you could propose, if no measures of pacification should be devised and accepted, or if, having been devised and accepted, they should prove ineffectual, and even stir up fiercer strife.

Then, when I would suggest, for your consideration, and to the attention of all who may read this Letter, is this:—

"WOULD A SEPARATION OF THE STATES PRODUCE AN SECURE PEACE, WITH ORT THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY?"

I think it would not, and shall presently give you some of my reasons.

I can conceive that a convention of delegates from all the States, assembled for the purpose of effecting a peaceful separation between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States, might possibly agree upon the conditions of

such a separation, though the task it must be admitted, would be a very difficult one. The army, the navy, the military posts, the navy-yards, the armories, the arsenals, the public property, the Treasury, the indebtedness of the Government, the national archives, the Federal District between two slave States, the Capitol, President's House, and other public buildings, the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mexico, the Territories, the Pacific Coast, the free States of California and Oregon, severed from the other free States—the division of these would present difficult and perplexing questions, not readily to be settled. But possibly, the work might, at length, be accomplished.

And possibly the terms of separation thus arranged might be ratified by the States, or by the people. Many and opposite reasons might induce both the members of the Convention and the people to vote for the separation, on almost any terms. The slaveholder would vote for it to strengthen slavery and get rid of the abolitionists. A class of abolitionists and anti-slavery men, would vote it, expecting thereby to promote abolition, and determined, at all events, to have no connection with slaveholders. Politicians might vote for two separate national governments, in hopes of getting some of the new offices to be created by them. To our vast army of office-holders and office-seekers, such a doubling of their chances for office and promotion, would present strong inducements. The merchant might vote for it, to establish commercial relations more to his liking, the Northern protectionist to get a higher tariff, the Southern economist to secure free trade, the ecclesiastics to restore ecclesiastical quiet, the conservative to get rid of agitation, the radical to effect a change.

And so, the separation might be effected, and civil war, if not permanently averted, might be, for the moment stayed off, even if but for a short period.

BUT WOULD THE SEPARATION SECURE PEACE? You Sir, assuredly, will not answer this question, in the affirmative—You, Mr. Seward—though the failure of your proposed measures, as I have said, seems to leave you no other alternative—You, Mr. Seward, in the very speech which has occasioned these Letters, have drawn a frightful picture of the jealousies, the rivalries, the distinctions, the continual recurring interferences, aggressions, and petty wars which, in your opinion, would begin to afflict and waste the States of this Union, whenever they should be separated from each other. This picture occupies the greater part of your elaborate speech, and constitutes, almost absolutely, the sum total of its power.—And, notwithstanding the marked discrepancy between your several speeches, I conclude we shall not, very soon, be favored with a speech from you, proposing a peaceful separation of the States, and setting forth the conservative and beneficial effects of that measure.

I agree however, with several editors who have commented on that feature of your speech, that the frightful picture you have there drawn, if not exaggerated, is not discriminatively applied. It is admitted that the effect of separation, upon the slave States, would be likely to prove very much as you have described. But it is not generally apprehended that the same effects would be witnessed among the free States.

My own belief is, that, in case of a separation between the free and the slave States, the free States would find no difficulty in remaining united among themselves, prosperous in their agriculture, their manufactures, and their commerce, enjoying the increasing confidence and respect of the civilized world. Thus believing (as I trust the majority of my fellow-citizens do), I am not under the slightest temptation to consent to the sacrifice of either justice, liberality, republicanism, or anything else worth retaining in order to purchase the unity of the States. That unity I only

cherish as an instrumentality for establishing justice, and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States and their posterity, without exception.

My belief, nevertheless, is, that a separation of the slaves holding from the non-slaveholding States, would not secure peace, and peaceful relations, and safe intercourse between the two sections, as two independent nations, unless (as some anticipate) that separation should be accompanied with or soon followed by the abolition of slavery in those seceding States—an abolition to be, in no way effected but by the fact or by the imminent impending danger of a general war.

My reasons for this belief, are, briefly, these.

I. The political separation of the slave States from the free will produce no geographical separation between them. The Mississippi, the Ohio, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, will continue to run in just the same channels and through the same region of country that they now do. The Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic will remain as they now are, and as the rivers just mentioned now commence to be used as they now are. Canals and Rail-Roads, likewise, will continue to intersect and connect the country, or countries, very much as they now do.

II. The people of the two nations will continue to be, as they now are, of the same language, the same literature, professedly of the same religion, of the same religious denominations, having the same Bible, yet differing as much as they now do on the greatest question of religion and morals now mooted in the civilized world. These points of similarity and of dissimilarity, of seeming unity and real dissension, will continue to operate as they now do, to keep the points of their difference distinctly and continually before both the parties. Southern defenses of slavery by the Bible and Northern arguments against slavery by the Bible, will continue and multiply, as they have done. The question of morality will not be hushed, by political separation, opinions will not be less freely uttered, at least at the North, and Southern consciences, nerves and susceptibilities will not be the less unpleasantly affected by them.

III. If there is to be peace between the two nations, there must be peaceful and protected intercourse and commerce between the citizens of the two countries. And that protection and security must be maintained, in striking contrast with the present condition of affairs at the South.

If there is to be commerce between the two nations, there must be security for citizens of the one nation travelling, for commercial purposes, in the other nation, as there is now, for Americans travelling in Europe. And the mal-treatment of a single Northern Citizen at the South will be matter of Governmental action, and, without redress, occasion of war.—There must be no seizures of Northern colored seamen in Southern ports, no espionage of Northern vessels, in search of emigrante to the North, if there is to be quiet commercial intercourse between the two nations. Neither must there be lynchings, nor orders to quit the country, or the indulgence of free speech, or for the "sacrifice of raising the South to her debas, or to her causes in the Northern ports."

IV. If there is to be a separation between the free and the slave States, they fugitives from Slavery, escaping from the slave to the free States, must be absolutely free, and there must be no pursuits of fugitive slaves on free soil. The use of Northern vessels will not allow this, nor allow (nor) National Government to stipulate by Treaty for any allusion to the existence of anything of the kind.

V. The next question is, whether the slave States would agree to all this—whether they would provide for the protection of peaceful Northern citizens at the South, and whether they would restrain Southern citizens from inva-

five invasions on the free Soil of the North, in hunting for slaves.

If they will now, then, evidently, there could be no foundation for amicable relations between the two nations, nor would it be possible to carry on commerce between them.

For the least that could be claimed by Northern citizens would be, that Southern citizens should enjoy no more impunity, when coming North, to enslave men on Northern soil, than Northern citizens should, when going South, as John Brown did, to liberate slaves on Southern soil.

VI. If it be supposed that Northern merchants, manufacturers, or capitalists, for the sake of peaceful commercial relations with the South, would seek to influence their Government to provide, by Treaty, or by enactments, for the return of fugitive slaves, or for the privilege of pursuing them on Northern soil—or to forbear demanding protection for peaceful Northern citizens, at the South, then it is to be taken for granted that this proposal opens again the Slavery question for agitation in the Congress of the United States North. The struggle between Northern abolitionists and Northern dough-faces, at the ballot box would be opened anew, and carried into Congressional and Presidential elections. The effects of the separation would not likely to moderate the tone of sentiment and feeling, on either side.

Other considerations might be urged, but these are sufficient to show, that the "agitation" so much dreaded, is not likely to be terminated by a "peaceful separation of the States." That agitation is not thus to be silenced, nor by any of the pacification measures that have yet been proposed; simply because they cannot annul the connection between moral cause and effect, cannot annihilate human conscience and human sympathy, nor abrogate the moral government of God, nor his Providence-control, over nations and communities of men.

Six months ago, Mr. Neward, no arguments could have convinced you and your political associates, that this nation would so soon, if ever, have reached the crisis it has reached, now. None but "a few crazy fanatics" so called, anticipated anything of the kind. Listen to another "fanatical" prediction, if you please. It is this. The agitation of the vexed question of American slavery must go on, until American slavery is abolished. Abolition, and nothing else, abolition, if anything, must restore to this nation, unity and peace.

WILLIAM GOODELL.

339 Pearl street, New York, Feb. 16, 1861.

For the Principia.

WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

NO. XIV.

Coleridge once said, "There is no absurdity, how glaring soever, in theology, that has not had, at one time or other, believers and supporters among the greatest powers and most cultivated minds." We are reminded of this remark from one of the largest readers and closest observers of man, in turning again to pursue in detail, Mr. C. Blanck Thompson's book, in the interest of Slavery, on "the Nachash origin of the black and mixed races." A brief statement of his positions and conclusions, with a passage illuminated here and there, is all we have room to give.

By laborious philological reasoning, from a critical examination of the Hebrew text—of which we can only present the conclusion—the author shows that in the 24th verse of the 1st chapter, of Genesis, a super-brute race called Naphish, Chagash, or living creature, was brought forth from the earth, possessing animal life and intellectuality.

By the 26, 27 and 28th verses of the same chapter, it is shown that Adam was afterward created a superior Naphish Chagash, and placed in authority over all former creatures, including the super brute race, first called Naphish Chagash, and which, in naming all creatures, Adam called Nachash.

After a critical examination of the first five verses of the third chapter and his own literal translation of them, the author says

"Here we are informed that a creature did exist, superior in wisdom to all the field animals, and was also endowed with both speech and reason, and that he was in the garden with Adam and Eve, and was esteemed by them, as not only worthy of credit, but also esteemed to discern and reveal mysteries for we are informed in the succeeding verses, that this seductive language so infused the woman, that she put forth her hand, contrary to the direction which had

been given to Adam by Elohim, and took of the fruit of the tree and did eat, and gave also to her husband and he did eat."

It must therefore be inferred, that *Eloz*, finding him in the garden with Adam, when she was first made acquainted with her husband, regarded him as wiser than herself; from which circumstance, she was easily seduced by him into the belief that some mistake about the prohibitory command in reference to the tree in controversy. *

The 16th, and 17th verses of the second chapter are translated as follows, without regard to the present punctuation of the Hebrews, in order to show the existence of servitude even in the garden of Eden, and before the fall.

"And took Jehovah Elohim the *Adam*, and put him to dwell in the garden of Eden. On account of the servant even for a guard, therefore Jehovah Elohim put a precept upon the *Adam*, to say, "From all the trees of the garden, eating you may eat: but from the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat thereof, because in the day you eat thereof dying you shall."

Our new translator adds that the conduct of the Nachash, as related in the third chapter, shows the wisdom and necessity of this precept.

"Jehovah Elohim knowing that the servant Nachash would become a willing agent of the evil spirits in seeking the overthrow of Adam's authority as a master and lord of the land, found it necessary to forewarn him by giving him this precept: but the servant knowing this, clandestinely snared Adam through his wife, who had received the precept secondarily through the medium of Adam, and consequently, as it were, privately persuaded that it was not really a precept from God.

Adam, however, did not by his transgression lose his right of dominion, but he gave his adversary power to dispute his right, and in his contest with his servant he was to eat his bread in the sweat of his face, and experience the bruising of his head by the insubordination of his servants; this last evil he was to suffer in his posterity."

The curse pronounced upon the Nachash is next examined at length. The well-known reasonings of Adam Clarke to prove the Nachash to have been the progenitor of the Ourang Outang, are quoted in full. The views of that commentator, as to the character and intelligence of the Nachash, and the use that was made of him by the Devil in the temptation are concurred in by our author, but not his (Dr. Clarke's) conclusion as to the identity of the Nachash created with the Ourang Outang. This is the author's version of the curse.

"Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field;" or, to transpose the sentence, "Because thou art above all cattle and above every beast of the field, and hast done this, thou art cursed: on thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life;" or, to paraphrase the curse, "thou shalt go down with thy belly to the ground, and shalt eat thy food from the dust all the days of thy life, and shalt be made eminently between these two: and because thou hast seed and her seed; he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel;" That is, instead of the domestic peace and friendship that has hitherto existed between you and the woman, enmity will spring up between you and her, and between your children, and their children, in their domestic relations one with the other, and because of this enmity the woman shall bruise thy head, but thou shalt bruise his heel; or "to put it in the language of the past tense," because thou hast bruised his heel, in subduing the woman from her innocence and inheritance in the garden of Eden, he shall bruise thy head in subduing thee to a more degraded service."

It is quite probable, the author here remarks, "that the Nachash, after his transgression and curse, fled from his master and remained in a vagabond state until Noah and his sons gathered of his seed to preserve it in the ark, as it is after the flood that the first mention is made of him by his new name *Cush*."

This, then, is the author's convenient way of slipping the Nachash into the ark, without his being enumerated among the eight souls which are said to have been saved alive in the ark. A pair of this accursed Nachash race were among those that went in, unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.

"Without doubt," says this easy procurer in the interest of slavery,

"Hani's wife, whoever she was, had a Nachash servant or female slave, who was a negro, *Cush*, with whom Ham cohabited, and by whom he begat *Canan* while yet in the ark."

"Canan was undoubtedly the eldest of Ham's sons, though enumerated last in the catalogue, and he was evidently

* It is to be noticed that this superior reason is attributed by the profound author, not to *Satan*, a fallen angel, but to this *Nachash*, or *negro*. Did he mean to suggest the superior wisdom of the negro over the race to whom he was subjected—*Eve*?

born before Noah and his sons left the ark, as he is originally mentioned by the sacred historian who enumerates the sons of Noah who came out of the ark. Gen. 9, 18. "And the sons of Noah that went forth of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and Ham is the father of Canaan." The author, however, makes Ham the son of the father of Canaan while in the ark, and he having violated the law of his race by begetting a mixed offspring after the cleansing of the earth from that curse by the flood, accounts for the contempt he manifested towards his father when he found him uncovered in his tent, as related in the succeeding verse; and it also accounts for the curse pronounced by Noah on that mixed offspring, when he arose from his tent. Ham evidently did not notice this, his son had done unto him, and it was for the contempt his offending son had shown him, being inspired by the Spirit of truth, he barely revised what must necessarily be the destiny of a race begotten by the transgression of a natural law—the mixed race are naturally doomed to scrutinize with their brethren the Canaanites, race, while they have a being upon the earth, for the reason that the pure blood of Adam, the dominant race, is now gone, and the negro did not deserve to be a servant for the reason that even the great and mighty Ham, a servant by nature and creation! but *Canan*, by referring to his paternity, might claim to be a master, had it not been put upon the statute record as a law from the Almighty that he was a *slave*, and consequently all his posterity with him, and all others of like origin. *Cush*, instead of being the son of Ham, was evidently the mother of Canaan. *Phut* and *Misraim*.

And this *Cush*, the Nachash mother, stands also, according to our author, for the Negro or Ethiopian race, and that race the lineal descendants of the Nachash, who was created a servant for Adam!

To make this square with the scripture genealogy as given in Genesis and Chronicles, the author proposes to connect the reading of the 18th verse of the 9th chapter of Genesis, so that it will read thus: "And the sons of Noah that were forth out of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and Canaan the son of Ham (whom the Ethiopian law unto him.)"

The sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the tenth chapter should also stand thus, by supplying only a conjunction between Ham and *Cush*. "The sons of Ham and *Cush* (the sons which the Ethiopian bore unto him.) Even Canaan, Phut, and Misraim, each the sons of *Cush*. (Then the sons of Ham by his wife) *Seba*, and *Havilah*, and *Sebath*, and *Ramah*, and *Sabachtha*, and the sons of *Ramah* were *Sheba* and *Leadan*; and *Cush*, (the Ethiopian) (also) bare (sons of Ham) *Nimrod*, and he began to be a mighty one in the earth."

This reading makes it apparent that Canaan, Phut and Misraim were born into Ham of the concubine *Cush*, of the servile Nachash race, before he had any children by his lawful wife. Then, still after that, the *Cush* bore to him again *Nimrod*, "who being expert in the chase, aspired to become the Captain and Prince of his race." He it was that first conceived the idea of subverting the patriarchal government of Noah, and establishing an empire upon the earth over which he could rule with despotic authority.

"This idea, doubtless, was conceived, because of the known fact, that he not being of the pure seed of Adam, could as legally aspire to the Chief Patriarchy or the government transmitted from Noah."

"Prince *Nimrod* attempted to subjugate the whole earth to his rule, he built great cities, and founded a empire of the mixed race. *Abraham* was the first who dared to rebel against his authority, being commanded by *Isaac* to take to himself as many of the mixed and black races he needed for servants, and separated himself from the Nimrod Dynasty, which then only extended over the land of Shinar and Chaldea, and went and dwelt in the land of Canaan, where he maintained the Patriarchal government of Noah, and transmitted the same to his posterity. *Isaac*, son of *Nimrod*, however, increased to increase, until the promise made to Noah and the Nimrod empire was staved, to become a perpetual desolation."

"Canan being the first mixture of the seed of Adam after the flood, with the *Nachash* alias *Cush* race, the pronounced upon him by Noah was equally intended for his *descendants* of the mixed blood: hence, *Nimrod*, and his empire, as well as the *Egyptians* and families of *Canaan*, were included in the curse of servitude, which was to be his to his breeding." And all the while that the curse from Shem and Japheth are included in the blessing pronounced upon them, and are therefore entitled to do

"This strikes us as a very singular statement in scriptural history, that the Slave and Slaveholding, which is presented by the ancient interpreters of the *Scriptures*, as the *King* of Adam, the dominant race—! What a burlesque upon the *scriptural institutions*, as it now exists in the South!—that the *wife* of the *master* is the *master* of the slaves of the slaves, the natural *successors* of Ham, *desirous* for violating the law of *slavery*—! *Curse*—"

vinces of the mixed races by this law, as much as they are entitled to the services of *Nachas alias Cush* by creation. Japheth being the son of Noah, received the right of dominion over all men and animals. The Prophets do nothing but in process of time the Ecclesiastical dominion is also to pass to Japheth, and then he would dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan should be his servant, as at the present day.

The convenient and desired inference from those slightly transposed and accommodated readings of scripture, and from all the re-ways of this self-constituted "Daniel come to judgment" in our day, upon the black and mixed races of men, is expressed as follows:

"Since therefore, we can reasonably and scripturally trace the origin of the negro through the flood, from the creation separate and apart from the origin of the race of *Adam*, it is no longer necessary for the Christian believer to adhere to such a dogma and position as folly. In this view, *Cush* and *Nachas* the jet black, have hundred names, with their sun-gloves, thick lips, almost callow legs, and flat feet, are our brethren by consanguinity—the flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone; or that they are of one blood with us, who were created for the dominion and inheritance of the whole earth, and every living creature that moves upon the face thereof, placed under our dominion and control—the negro, in his creation, most certainly included."

Let us one think this brave conclusion of Nachasology by C. Blanck Thompson, is ironical or Pickwickian. It is seriously meant by the christian (I say of St. Louis, to turn out of the human family and inheritance all the black and mixed races, as being at best but illegitimate cousins, and to put them in precisely the best relation in which the hewer of wood and drawer of water can stand in to his employer's of the pure blood.

We have followed the author carefully and candidly though all his speculations, not because we are converted to them, but in order to let the readers of the *Principia* see upon what grounds the leaders of southern opinion, "the christian believers" there are for putting the enslavement of the African race, in spite of the Apostolic declaration, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

This is virtually, though not technically, the ground on which Rev. Messrs. Van Dyke, Prentiss, and Dr. Palmer argued more recently, "the duty to conserve and perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing." The last named of this heroic triad of clerical defenders of the peculiar institution, magnanimously declares:

"Without therefore determining the question of duty for future generations, I simply say, that for us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with the freest scope for its natural development and extension."

The most superficial observer must see that the conflict between the friends and the enemies of slavery, is being rapidly driven and limited to these two points, Is slaveholding right or wrong? And do the Holy Scriptures authorize or forbid it? On these two questions the moral war with slavery now turns. Can the issue of that war be otherwise doubtful to any believer in the true God?

Dr. Palmer's Thanksgiving sermon at New Orleans.

DR. CHEEVER TO THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS, NEW YORK.

Read to the church on Sabbath day, Feb. 3, 1861

[A note from a member of the Church, to the Editor of the *Principia*, containing a copy of this letter of Dr. Cheever, for publication—states that the *Independent* declines publishing it.]

EDINBURGH, January 10, 1861.

I feel compelled to address a few words to you again, most dearly beloved brethren and friends, my own dear people, at this solemn crisis. Though separated, for the present, in so difficult a position in the common warfare to which God has called us, we have great need of each other's counsels and prayers. I do not cease to be anxious for you all, for your personal growth in grace, for your diligence as to the common salvation and your part in it, and in all the precious graces and fruits of the Spirit, by which the disciples of Jesus may adorn His doctrine and commend it to others, the profession of His love. Oh that He may grant you, (as I sincerely trust) that baptism of His Spirit, which alone can awake you and keep you faithful to Him, to our another and to the world! It is my earnest prayer that you "may walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work and increasing in the

knowledge of God," strengthen the weak, and according to His glorious power, nato all patience and long suffering with joyfulness! As I have never shamed, while among you, to declare the whole counsel of God, so now, though absent from you, I may not without anything that in my conscience, I feel that I ought to say.

I see that it is becoming more and more difficult for a Church of Christ, in New York, to maintain the position which you have held, and to proclaim the truths which you have proclaimed, as committed to you for this very purpose by your Divine Redeemer. It is perhaps more perilous now, than even when I was with you, to preach the deliverance of the enslaved and the abolition of slavery as a present Christian obligation and duty. The wrath of cruel and covetous men, and the denunciations of professed religious men and editors, are invoked against the very idea of abolition, so that it requires no small degree of moral courage to preserve and openly profess your principles, and not to fall from your own steadfastness in this thing.

But you are set for the defence of the Gospel, and as those who have the truth of God on your side, you need not fear, trusting in Him. Cast not away therefore your confidence which hath great recompence of reward. You are not walking in darkness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, nor sanctioning its prevalent appalling persuasions in defence of slavery, nor concealing, nor avoiding its reprobation of that sin, but by manifestations of the truth, just when it is needed, you are endeavoring to commend yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And you have engaged in this conflict against this reigning and gigantic iniquity, out of love to Christ, and to those for whom he has commanded you to speak and to labour; you have done it for the honor of His name, for the just manifestation of His Gospel, and for the redemption of His cross from the infamy of creating or sanctioning a slaveholding Christianity. You have engaged in it, out of that compassion for those who are in bonds, and at the impulse of that desire for their deliverance, which is not only an instinct of our natural humanity, but a direct command of our Saviour. On the other hand, those who oppose your application of the word of God against slaveholding as sinful are engaged in the support and sanction of a mighty sin, and a vast system of cruelty and crime, and are laboring to pervert the Gospel itself in defence of it. We see with amazement, eminent Northern preachers of that Gospel, not scrupling to distort the word of God from its indisputable meaning, for this purpose, and applying texts against the effort to abolish slavery, which contain a clear annullment of the wrath of the Almighty if it be not abolished. The preachers prophesy falsehood and the priests of the Juggernaut of slavery, bear rule by their means. Meantime we see that those who are withdrawing from the Union are doing it because, except under the terror of such a measure, they despair of getting the Union pledged for the establishment and perpetuity of slavery, pledged to keep forever in slavery those from whom God has commanded them to break the yoke of this bondage. They look to be invited back by the bribe of such a pledge, inserted in the Constitution. Others we behold praying for the Union, that it might be preserved whole and entire, with the iniquity of slavery as its key-stone, the one condition on which alone it could be kept from crumbling. We see fulfilled the words of Habakkuk—"They catch men in their net, and gather them in their drag, therefore they rejoice and are glad. Therefore they sacrifice to their net, and burn incense unto their drag, because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous." Also the description of Hosea, "Ephraim is a merchant, the balance of deceit is in his hand, he loveth to oppress." And Ephraim said, Yet I can become rich, I have found me substance, in all my labours they shall find me iniquity in me that we grieve."

Now between the extortions of the world, and oppressors in the Church, by pretended sanction of the Gospel, the colored race, of whom it has been pronounced that they have no rights that white men are bound to respect, are because the flock of the slavish, whose possessors slay them, and pronounce themselves not guilty, and they say that God has made of one blood all nations of men, for we are rich, and their own shepherds pity them not, and those who oppose them in monstrous wickedness, who direct the

word of God against it, and demand its abolition are as evil, factious, and impudent as can be, who command and sanction such crime as those who are the wrath of God, and as being the authors of that very desolation of the Earth, which the amazement of a gazing world, has already taken place, and may possibly bring the horrors of civil war along with it.

Amidst all this, we cannot tell, as yet, what God designs. But for yourselves, dear brethren, it is evident that this is of all others, the very time of trial in which you are called upon to be faithful to the Gospel of God, and the cause of the enslaved. And if your enemies rage against you, on that account, so much the more earnestly should you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God.

And I pray God that no one among you may be saved by these afflictions, for yourselves know that we are appointed thereto in such a conflict, so great a crown as that of having been made faithful in this good fight, not being of any avail to you. Cast not away therefore your confidence which hath great recompence of reward. It is not strange if I have been greatly anxious lest by any means, the tempter might have tempted you, and our labour be in vain. But we are comforted over you in all affliction and distress, by the good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us. We also to see you. For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." And dear faithful brethren and friends, may God keep you faithful to the end.

The importance of your steadfastness is great, for you have engaged in this work, because you have desired to see the abolition of slavery accomplished by peaceful means, in obedience to the commands of God, as a work of true and living piety, by the authority and persuasion of the Gospel, because in order to do this, you knew it was necessary that the followers of Christ should set the example, should proclaim the truth against this sin, as the truth is in Jesus, knowing that the light that is in you is darkness, how great is that darkness! knowing how great a power of infidelity and abomination has been given to Sntau, in the sanction of this sin. Your hearts have been filled with anguish, when you have seen professed teachers of the gospel of love, who proclaim "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye so to them"—affirming that slavery, the intensest form of human oppression and cruelty, was an institution of that gospel. You have seen ministers of that gospel, in one and the same sermon, calling on their hearers never to be slaves, and in the very same breath, commanding them as a Christianity, to make slaves of others, and to defend this as a privilege of their own liberty.

The true gospel being thus perverted, and a false gospel set up for the sanction of such abominations, you have felt that it was an incurable disgrace if the word of God were silent, and the battle against this gigantic iniquity were left to be fought by mere natural philanthropy. The world had had the promise from God, that when the kingdom of the true gospel comes, it will break in pieces the oppressor, and will save the children of the needy. You then know that a gospel which refuses to do this, is a false gospel, that a gospel which is perverted by its very preachers, from the liberty and power of doing this, and is made to protect and countenance the oppression which the word of God denounces, is fatally wounding in the seals of divine authority and invitation for a guilty world, is the *mark* upon it as an object of justitative contempt, beneath the level of natural judgment, and which will evoke a world even of angels into judgment. You are bound therefore to assert the truth of the gospel, and to apply it for the deliverance of those that are oppressed, and for the protection of their *children*. That gospel which is commanded to be preached *against* sinners, that gospel which commands masters to render unto their servants that which is just and equal, and therefore abhors the holding, when in slavery since that would be the greatest possible violation of justice and *truth*, that gospel which together with the law, forbids the *mark* of fugitives from bondage, and declared them as *free* slaves that gospel which avers that in Christ there is neither bond nor free, nor any respect of persons—was most impiously slandered and perverted by being made the minister of this sin.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY FEBRUARY 16, 1861

THE SACREDNESS* OF SLAVERY

There are those who attempt to set aside the bounds of an eternal precept of God's Law on this subject, as mere Judaic ceremonies. Whereas, God himself has declared the precept against men-stealing, as "Be just as binding now as they ever were and of just as perpetual and inalienable authority and application as the precepts against the murderers of fathers and the murderers of mothers."

It is only those who by feigned words, would make merchandise of you, that dare affirm a gospel sanction for making merchandise of the colored race. It is only those who "separate themselves, sensual, baving not the spirit," and who "having men's persons in admiration, because of advantage," believe that gall is godliness, who thus blaspheme the word of God.

Now beloved brethren, may God keep you all, firm and unwavering. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and whatever efforts may be made to induce a compromise with the system or the spirit of slavery, be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage. Continue to proclaim God's word against slaveholding as sin, for that is His appointed method in dealing with any iniquity whatever, for which He calls the sinners to repentance.

I see that one of the greatest grievances alledged by the South against the North is just this, that we believe and declare slavery to be sinful. Assuredly this shows where our power for arresting and abolishing this iniquity lies;—even in the CONSCIENCE of mankind, set on fire with the word and spirit of the living God. Years ago, if the word of God had been then applied by His faithful ministers and people, the country would have put away this wickedness for God says, in regard to the very same sin, and the guilt of the false prophets that promised peace in it, and concocted God's truth. "If they had stood in my council, and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doing." But, "from the prophets is profaneness gone forth into all the land." And you can hardly conceive the painful disappointment and astouishment of all classes, in this country, in witnessing the efforts of theologians and professed christians and christine ministers so scandalously to pervert the word of God.

Dear brethren, whatever be the present result of your efforts, you will always have cause to thank God that in this conflict, with your loins girt about with truth, taking the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, you have been enabled to stand against the wiles of the Devil. "I thank God upon every remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all, making request with joy, for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now." May "your love abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in judgment, that ye may approve things that are excellent, that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God." The great and solemn subject to which the minds of all are now turned, should be brought by us consistently before God, and pondered in the light of eternity.

May your anxieties and trials in regard to it, be the means of bringing you personally nearer to God, making you feel more deeply the importance of a daily and closer walk with Him, and of entire trust and confidence in Jesus, and may the God of all grace, who hath called us unto eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, establish, strengthen, settle you; To Him be glory and dominion forever and ever, amen.

With most affectionate remembrances to you all, and with earnest prayers that God would keep you all unto His heavenly kingdom, I dear brethren and friends as ever, your loving Pastor,

GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

The Washington Peace Conference.—It is already leaking out, through the cracks of their closed doors, that the Washington Peace Conference promises nothing but peace. The best way to meet the emergency is to do nothing, and resolve that Congress alone has the power to initiate a truce of peace, and, secondly, that this conference do now adjourn sine die, casting the responsibility of a compromise upon the two houses of Congress. We have had already enough of this irresponsible outside compromise tinkering. The crisis demands action, yea or nay on the part of Congress. N. Y. HERALD.

The less action the better, in that direction, whether in or out of Congress.

not so sacred as slavery. At our bidding, nay, in her presence, these tie are all severed, these chains trampled in foot.

The blood of the Redeemer, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the love of the Great Father of Spirits, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. At her bidding, purchase of that blood is placed on the auction block. The temples of that Spirit, are made the inmates of the slaveholder's harem, the dear children of the Heavenly Father, love, are transformed to "goods and chattels" personal, and herded with the beasts that perish.

The family alter, the nursery, the Sabbath school, the house of prayer, the Christian Ministry, the church, the seals of the saints, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. Slavery breaks down the family alter, plunders the nursery, outlaws the Sabbath school, defiles the house of prayer, claims brotherhood in the Church, bribes a Ministry, and whenever convenient, claims Church members and ministers as chattels, sells them at auction, changes them in coffee gangs, deposits the price in bank, and drags checks on the cashier, for fresh investments in human merchandise, or for the support of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

All this is sober fact, and not fiction.

Men—brethren—christians—fellow citizens—freedom—How much longer shall the abomination be endured?

SLAVERY FOREVER!

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Permit me to inquire what would be the effect of passing the Crittenden Compromise upon the future formation of states south of the line proposed. As I understand the proposed compromise, it contemplates amending the constitution to recognize slaves as chattel property. Under the amendment, say the territories are populated by about equal numbers of settlers with their slaves and effects from the South, the people from the South are to be excluded, and other effects. In time the settlers are to be withdrawn, and the requirements of the law, and a vote is taken upon a state constitution preparatory to admission as a state into the Union. Upon counting the votes there is found to be a majority in favor of a free state. What I wish to know could it come into the Union as a free state? It seems to me it could not.

For if the slaves, who are the majority of its citizens, with whatever they have that is recognized as property, under the proposed amendment, including slaves, would have a perfect right to remain in the state after the vote, the same as the majority with their property, including cattle. And thus it seems to me the majority who voted for a free state constitution would be deprived of their rights—the rights of the majority—for any state laws passed to compel the owners of slaves to make them free, or leave the state after the vote, would be unconstitutional. The state could not be a free state under the Crittenden Compromise, if it contained a slave state. Under the operations of that compromise, the voting of the free settlers, if comes to me, would be a farce. They could have no rights that would be respected, while the slaveholding settlers, whether a majority or in a minority, have the power in advance guaranteed to them to make it really and in fact a slave state.

In other words, that compromise discriminates wholly against the slaves, and establishes slavery for all time, in all the territories, and the new states to be created, though apparently leaving it to the people of each state to decide whether they will come into the Union as slaves or free states, yet in reality so designed that they have no power really to come in as free states. No matter how large a majority decides the question in favor of a free state that majority cannot dispossess or drive out, legally, the slaveholding settlers; they with their chattel property, have the right to remain in the state, and are entitled to the protection of the laws of the state just as much as the majority of free settlers, and any law state law passed to discriminate against the property of the slaveholder would be unconstitutional. Am I correct in this?

S. J. F.

Yes. The writer of the above is correct. The operation of the amendment would be to prevent the admission of any more free states. And such was, undoubtedly, its design.

And this is not all. The recognition of slaves, as property in the Constitution, would authorize and protect slaveholding in all the states, "any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." Federal Constitution being the supreme law of the land (See Constitution, Article VI, Sect. 2.)

This result was designed to be effected by the Dred Scott decision, and President Buchanan undertook to carry it into effect, under authority of that decision, in his celebrated Kansas Message, in which he declared that "the State of Kansas was as really a Slave State as South Carolina or Georgia."

A Republican of great weight and influence in the councils of the sound portion of the party in Congress writes us that "the impatience of Republicans for the arrival of the period when Mr. Lincoln will speak for himself increases every hour. Curses loud and deep are everywhere heaped upon those who would demoralize and betray the Republican party into the hands of its enemies by compromise. It is impossible, without a breach of confidence, to express the urgent necessities of the hour. The greatest apprehension is that we shall suffer disaster in the Spring elections now close at hand, unless the compromise demonstrations in the Republican ranks are promptly arrested and repudiated."—*Tribune*.

The Tribune says: "We beg the Republican compromisers to stay their hand. We beg them not to consummate the suicide of their principles and their party. The Republicans are masters of the situation. Nothing is wanting but a firm hand and a steady rein, and a most glorious and overwhelming triumph awaits us. Secession will cure itself, and without war or ruin to anybody but those who perniciously drag those evils down upon their own heads.

The Anderson case.—*The London Times* calls "attention to the fact that Anderson, the fugitive slave, cannot be taken from Canada to England at present, inasmuch as he cannot be conveyed through American territory, and no other route will be opened before spring.

Capt. Tilton of the U. S. Navy, has committed suicide, on account, it is said, of the distracted state of the country.

The postmaster at Mobile denies, to the Postoffice department, that letters passing through his office have been violated.

Mr. Holt to Col. Hayne.—Mr. Holt closes a correspondence with Col. Hayne, with a letter, of which the following is the conclusion.

The thought you constantly present is, that this description must lead to the use of arms, and the prevalence of civil war. Fort Sumter is in itself a military post, and nothing else, and it would seem that not so much the fact as the purpose of its use should give it a hostile or a friend character. This forces us not held by the government of the United States for its protection, as it has been held from the time of its construction. These are national and defensive, and were a public enemy now to attempt to capture them, and to hold them in subjection, and to force the harbor, the whole force of the batteries of the fortress would be drawn upon for their protection. How the presence of a small garrison, actuated by such a spirit as this, can compromise the dignity or honor of the United States, or the safety of the people, the President is at a loss to understand. The attitude of that garrison, as he has often been declared, is neither menacing nor defiant, but it is a clear and decided declaration of the national, the defensive, and the government and people of South Carolina to the world, that they can never receive any aid shelter from its guns, unless in the absence of all provocation they should assault it and capture it. The statement that the fort is held by the rebels, was truthfully stated by Senator Davis and others in their letter to yourself, of the 13th of January, in which they say, "We have no desire to interfere with your rights toward your state, but merely as property of the United States, the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve."

If the statement so repeatedly made of the President's peace policy in connection with the fort is true, and if the statement shall have been settled by competent authority, has failed to impress the government of South Carolina, the forbearing conduct of him and his agents for so long a time, and the want of any conclusive evidence of his sincerity; and if this forbearance in view of the circumstances which have so severely tried it, he not accept a solemn and explicit pledge of a peaceful policy of this administration, and South Carolina, to the effect that he will not, that neither language, nor conduct can possibly furnish one. If, with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace, and his desire to avoid all unnecessary trouble, and his authority of South Carolina shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and then plunge the country into the horrors of civil war, then upon them, and those they represent must rest the responsibility.

Yours truly,
John J. HOLT, Secretary of War.

To Hon. J. W. HAYNE, Attorney General of the State of South Carolina.

England—Supply of Cotton.—A prospectus has been issued in England of an Indian cotton company, for the purpose of supplying the enormous demand for that article in Great Britain.

The Southern Confederacy. The Convention at Montgomery has organized a Provisional Government for the Confederate States of America, and have elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia Vice-President. The Constitution, at length, appears in the *N. Y. Herald* of Feb. 11, from which we make the following extracts:

Proclam.—"We, the people of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said States shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur."

Art. I, Sec. 1.—"The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States of the Confederated States is hereafter forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this confederacy.

Art. IV, Sec. 3.—"A slave in our State escaping to another shall be delivered upon the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found: and in any case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall be made."

4. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the Confederate States, and nothing in this constitution shall be construed as to prejudice any claims of the Confederate States or of any particular State.

Notice the contrast, to our Federal Constitution.—"We the Deputies"—not "We the people"—a significant fact. Nothing is said of "Establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty." The condition clause speaks of slaves, not of "persons." They are to be given up, not to those to whom their labor is "due," but to those to whom they may "belong." And nothing is said of their being "held to service and labor under the laws of the State"—there being no such laws.

What a perfect confession that our condition clause does not describe slaves, and does not apply to them!

So also in respect to the clause concerning Territories. The alternative provides for that "equality of the States" of which we have heard so much—the right to carry slaves property into the Territories.

The prohibition of the African slave trade is an evident proof to the slave-growing border States—but will be acceptable to the rank and file of the seceders, who demand a chance to buy cheap negroes?

So much for the pretense that the seceding States would adopt the Federal Constitution, entire.—This model was doubtless intended to foreshadow the "amendments" of the Constitution required of "the North" as a condition of "reconstruction" and "reunion."—But the "Deputies" should have looked a little closer, into the matter. They should have struck out the guaranty of a Republican form of Government, the habeas corpus, the due process of law, the prohibition of bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts. As this is only a "Provisional Government"—its provisions will doubtless undergo the necessary revision, in due time.

Toronto, C. W., Feb. 9.—The case of Anderson, the fugitive slave, was argued at great length to-day by eminent counsel, and the trial is still going on to-night. No decision will be given probably, till next week, but the general impression is, that the court will liberate the prisoner on a technicality in the commitment.

Memphis, Tenn., Feb. 9.—News is received here that at Little Rock (Ark.) arsenals, containing nine thousand stand of arms, a large amount of ammunition and forty cannon, including Capt. Bragg's battery, were surrendered to the state authorities of Arkansas yesterday.

The arsenal is now garrisoned by a hundred volunteers

Seizure of five New York vessels at Savannah.—Col. Tatton, the military commander at Savannah, Georgia, under the instructions of Gov. Brown, on Saturday seized and detained as a reprisal for the seizure of masts at New York, five New York vessels at that port—the bars Advertiser and D. Collier, Murray, the brig W. R. Kirby, and Golden Leaf, and the schooner Julia A. Hallock. The news created great excitement here and in Washington. Hon. John Cochrane, it will be seen, promptly offered in Congress a special committee of inquiry. A telegram received last evening from Charleston states that Gov. Pickens has received a dispatch from Savannah declaring that the vessels have been released. We shall probably learn the truth or falsity of this report to-day.—*N. Y. Times of Monday*.

Subsequent dispatches state that Gov. Brown released the vessels, because their seizure had produced the desired effect, namely, had procured the giving up, and forwarding of the arms seized by the police of New York, as being destined to treasonable uses in Georgia. Can this be true? We have heard of no contradiction of the statement. It will be recalled that *Judge Smalley* of the United States District Court, for the District of New York, had charged the Grand Jury, that it was treasonable to furnish or transport arms to rebels against the Government. In conformity with this charge, some arms about to be shipped to Georgia, were seized by the police of New York, for which an apology was made to the traitor Toombs by Mayor Wood, of New York, regretting that he had not the control of the

police. The next step was the official demand of Gov. Brown of Georgia on Gov. Morgan of New York, for the delivery of the arms, to which demand, no answer, we believe, has transpired. Next came the seizure of the New York vessels, and finally, their release, because the arms had been relinquished—on what authority does not appear.

So the Federal Government and the State of New York succumb to the Governor of Georgia, in other words, to the majesty of the petty oligarchy of slaveholders. This reminds us of a paragraph, which we had just read, and now clip from the *Brooklyn Times*.

London, Feb. 10.—rapid and slavering paper, says that of all issues follies, the most frantic is that which complements the forcible subjugation of the seceding States. South Carolina alone can and will, defy the whole United States arms.

Considering the servility with which the North, and the Nation bows down to the majesty of the slaveholders (and which the Liberator, doubtless, had in mind) we are induced to think the Liberator was correct, and that facts are proving it to be so. What are thirty millions of dogfaces, calling themselves free, and yet tolerating slavery, in the presence of these two hundred thousand masters? Nothing! Less than nothing, and vanity. Thus it will be till the people determine to abolish slavery.

South Carolina, is reported to be restive under the new Confederacy, with Jeff. Davis as President. The business of taking Fort Sumter will now be adjourned to Montgomery, where it will be voted, soon after which South Carolina is expected to secede.—*Tribune*. (J. S. P.)

The Tennessee election has gone largely for the Union, and the Legislature of Kentucky has adjourned over to March 20, refusing to call a Convention at all.

Kansas. It has been already announced that there is a bill before the Assembly of New York appropriating \$100,000 for the relief of the starving people of Kansas. This bill would have passed the Assembly on Tuesday of last week, but for the persistent opposition of Democratic members, prominent among whom was Mr. Kornai of Oneida, the acknowledged leader of the Democracy in the House of Representatives.

Certain distinguished Virginians telegraphed Gov. Pickens, requesting him still to forbear assailing Fort Sumter. This was done, and the rebels would have taken full responsibility any suggestion from them, but he could give no definite answer until he shall receive the President's communication, and ascertain the grounds of the latter's refusal to surrender Fort Sumter.

ALBANY, Saturday, Feb. 9, 1861
The Assembly held a session last evening to consider the bill making an appropriation of \$500,000 to arm the State. When the Assembly had reached the consideration of this bill, Mr. Hardy of New York offered an amendment providing for a tax of five-sixteenths of a mill on each dollar of the real and personal property of the State to meet the half million which the bill appropriates, and briefly advocated the proposition.

After debate, the bill was passed to a third reading.

Gen. Wool, one of the New York Conference delegation, will require guarantees that the Capitol shall not be injured by a seceding States before he will assent to any plan of reconciliation.

The testimony of ex-Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, is said to be the strongest adduced against Secretary Floyd, concerning the acceptances, which will amount to several millions more than the public have any idea of.

Reports received here to-day partially confirm the statement that Fort Sumter has been reinforced by a small number of men.—*Post of Monday*.

The twenty-eight cases of Minie rifles seized by Police Superintendent Kennedy, were the property of the State of Connecticut. The arms are said to have come into the possession of the rebels through the families of Robins and Lawrence, of Windsor, Vermont, and were delivered to the State of Georgia. These arms have not been delivered, as some of the morning papers assert, but an order for their delivery was received last Thursday.—*Post of Monday*.

What right has the State Bank of Hartford to interfere with rebels against the government?

The President Elect left his home in Springfield 10th of the new session of Government at 7.30 A. M. on Monday, the 11th, accompanied by a large concourse of people, in the depot where nearly one thousand citizens had already collected. After he had shaken hands with a number of friends he took his stand on a platform near, and spoke as follows:

My friends—You are not in my position, an impartial friend I feel at this parting. To those people I owe a debt. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a

century, here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me, which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid, and I have relied for it ever since. Almighty Being I place my reliance for success, and I trust in my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which, success is certain. Again, bid you all an affectionate farewell. (Loud applause, and cries of "We will pray for you.")

During the speech, Mr. Lincoln betrayed much emotion and the crowd was affected to tears. The train left at precisely 8 o'clock.

At Indianapolis, the train halted, and he was welcomed by Gen. Morton. While in that village, Mr. Lincoln addressed the citizens as follows:

Pewee-Citizens of the State of Indiana. I am here to thank you, for such a magnificent welcome, and still more for the very generous and unanimous expression of sympathy and support, which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world. Solomon says, "There is a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the mouth with me, certainly that they mean the same as when they say, "There is a time to keep silence." They who would keep silence, the words "coercion" and "invasion" are much used in these days, and often with some temper and heat; but I have a desire to let you know, that when we use these words, they have definitely a meaning, and that we know the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by them.

What, then, is "coercion"? What is "invasion"? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of the people, and the use of force, be "coercion"? I do not know. I do not think it would; and "coercion" also, if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and exert its own force, and other weapons, and collect the dues of foreign nations, and exact with force payment for what they have been habitually violated, would any or all these things be "invasion" or "coercion"? Do our professed lovers of the Union, who have been so zealous in their efforts to sustain the Union, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of invasion and coercion is that great a power would seem to be exercising this and any other like little power of the Union, which would be much too large for it to be consistent with the principles of justice and right. In their view, the Union is a family, and would be safe if the regulations of the family, or some arrangement, were maintained on paternal abstraction. By the way, in what consists the spiritual sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to it in the Constitution, or for or against the Union; we all recognize that. That position, however, a State cannot carry on the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule, which is less than itself, and to rule all which is less than itself. That is the right of a State, which should be equal in extent of territory and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the country? The right of a State, as a matter of principle, to rule itself, or, in principle, on what rightful principle, may a State be more than one-fifth of the portion in soil and population, break up the Union, and then, by a proportionately larger subdivision of itself, in the most arbitrary manner? What, then, is "invasion"? Is it coerced on a district of country with its people by merely calling it a State? *Pewee-Citizens,* I am not asserting anything. I am only asking you to consider, and now allow me to bid you farewell.

From Indianapolis Mr. Lincoln proceeded to Cincinnati, where he addressed the citizens and said.

"I have spoken but once before this, in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, I said to Mr. Wards, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them, as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas to the Presidency, than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come, certainly, as soon as ever I expected. I make no claim that I expected they would treat after this, that they should have been beaten. I only wanted to call their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said, 'When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you as far as I am authorized to speak for the Opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can, in Washington, Jefferson, and Madison treated you, when you were in the South, and it is no way to interfere with your institutions, or abide by all the property compromise of the Constitution, and, in word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we are, that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind, always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or, as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.'

Pewee-Citizens of Kentucky! friends! brethren, may I tell you, in my new position, I see no occasion, and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured, the fault shall not be mine."

Our special dispatch from Washington states that messengers from Pensacola, bearing dispatches to the government, had been captured. Hearst says that the rebels had landed troops at Fort Pickens, and that the fort The

Wyoantic was cooling at the government wharf. The report of an armistice, between the state troops and Lieut. Stoen, was not true in any sense. The withdrawal of the troops was unconstitutional, so far as Lieut. Stoen was concerned.—The World.

Our advices from Washington indicate that the most probable result of the discussions now going on there will be a National Convention, called in a regular and constitutional manner. To such a Convention, properly called and fairly called, we see no serious objection, though we will not undertake to guarantee that its result will be exactly what its projectors desire and expect. Tribune

Congress—House of Representatives. Mr. Palmer, of New York, introduced two resolutions. The first, declaring that neither the Union, nor the states, nor the Northern states, have a purpose or constitutional right to interfere with Slavery in any State of the Union, and the other asserting that the number of people in the North not subservient to the sentiments of the first were too insignificant in number to be worth the trouble. These resolutions, which were in a free debate, lost the first only passed by a vote of 102 to 11, and a quorum. Further debate and explanations then ensued, and it was again passed, 116 to 14. A reconsideration was carried, and after still further debate, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, offered a resolution, which was adopted, that the Legislature of each of the non-slaveholding States have the right to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the slaveholding States. This appeared to give satisfaction to everybody, and it was passed unanimously. Mr. Palmer's second resolution was not considered—it being superseded by that of Mr. Sherman.

If this is all the "compromise" that is to be adopted in Congress, we shall be thankful—not that the sentiment is not abhorrent to us, but that it has no legal or binding force. It is a mere resolution of the members then present, which any future Congress may reverse, and binding nobody, even while it stands. Let the Constitution remain, and we are content. And the people, we are persuaded, will not consent to amend it, in favor of slavery.

Resolutions introduced by Hon. Mr. McLean, of New-York—*Whereas,* The Slave States have assumed to secede from the Union, and it is deemed important to prevent the Border States from following their example, and to secure it is believed that those who are inflexibly opposed to any measure of compromise or concession that involves a sacrifice of principle or the extension of Slavery would nevertheless cheerfully concur in any lawful measure for the emancipation of the Slave; therefore,

Resolved, That the Select Committee of Five be instructed to inquire whether, by the consent of the people, or of the State Governments, or by compenseating the slaveholders. It is preferable for the General Government to secure the emancipation of the slaves to some or all of the Border States, and if so, to report a bill for that purpose.

The Floyd Robbery is now believed to amount to between five and six millions of dollars. So much comes of committing the hands of the nation to the hands of those who rob the poor laborers of their wages.

The Government is eight millions in debt before the means of payment. So says the Secretary, Mr. Dix, to the Committee of Ways and Means. Proposals are issued for subscriptions to that amount of Government stock.

Hon. W. L. Yancey, one of the apostles of secession, announces his determination of retiring to private life. Pity he had not done it sooner.

The "Peace" Convention at Washington have thrown a fire brand of agitation into the nation. They recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to give all the Territories South of 36° 30' to slavery, admit slave States, and deprive Congress of the power of abolishing slavery in the States, or in the District of Columbia, without leave from Maryland and Virginia.

Now for a fresh agitation of the Constitutional question—with the concession that the present Constitution is an obnoxious Constitution!

Mr. Jefferson Davis, in a speech made since his election to the Presidency of the "Confederate States of America," has declared that if civil war shall result from the present commotions, the battle will be fought on Northern soil, because of the superior power of the military and naval forces.

Mr. Davis made a speech, Feb. 12, "protesting" firmly against all compromises, and insisting that the Contention propositions were worse than the Breckinridge platform.

[True.] And Seward's proposals were, in some respects, worse than either.]

The two who have been duly counted, and *Abram Lincoln* and *Hammond H. Harlan* officially declared elected President and Vice-President of the United States, before the assembled Senate and House of Representatives. Vice-President Breckinridge presented.

Distress in Charleston. Intelligence from Charleston states that there is great distress among the working classes, who, besides fearing for want of employment, are compelled to do military duty to sustain their families. Insubordination and other causes have led to the declaration of martial law on Sullivan's Island.

The plot against the Capitol. Mr. Howard's Committee have reported that there is abundant evidence of the discussion of plans to burn the Capitol, and prevent the inauguration of the President elect.

The breaking up of the ice in the Hudson river has caused an inundation in Albany, and done much damage.

Another seizure of arms, about to be shipped to the rebels, was made by the Metropolitan police of New-York.

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

A PICTURE.

... of the dark beauty,
A slender girl, tall, bright,
Though some dreams of midnight,
And chained them in surprise.

Her softened glance, and earnest
Never onward turned
Watching with a smile, with a smile
On sacred art burned.

The heart's pale flame ascending
From mingled offerings there,
Beneath the soft, bright, imagings,
And sweetest sounds of prayer.

All o'er her constant praise,
The rarest pearls are strown,
Gems from the soul's deep places,
From the mind's fair throne.

With a thought and a beauty
Drawn from the heart, and glow
In her dark eyes, and round her brow
A soft little cluster throw.

O fair inspired, and lovely,
Beneath o'er the world's low ways,
There was a time when a lover
Men shall follow thy rapt gaze;

And with eyes unblinded seeing
Read the lesson that would teach,
The mission of thy loveliness,
Its deeper meaning teach!

Anna J.

For the Principia.

STORY FOR THE LITTLE FOLKS.

CHAPTER IX.

Dear children, in my last, I told you that God ordained civil government for the good of mankind, and that without it society could not exist. Let us now listen to the words of the great king, contained in Rom. 13 ch. 3 and 4 verses. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power?" (civil authority) Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he (the ruler) is the minister of God to thee for good.

But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he bears not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil.

From which it appears that it is the appropriate business of civil government to protect all persons, in the possession and enjoyment of their rights, and especially to protect the good and virtuous from all harm; and to punish the guilty invaders of our rights with an adequate penalty, and according to the principles of justice and equity.

Man having been made to love, worship and obey his Creator, it is the duty of government to shield and protect him in the discharge of this, his highest duty and privilege but it has no right to prescribe the form in which he shall do it.

It is its duty to foster and encourage all that is moral, intelligent, virtuous and lovely, and to discomfit all that is vicious and wrong. And it should be regarded as commissioned of God, to do this very work.

WILLIE. We are told that the government of Austria is used to wrong and oppress the people, was that form of government ordained of God?

I think not, Willie. This is a despotism, exercising the power and authority of civil government to tyrannise over, wrong and oppress those whom it should protect and defend. Therefore it is a perversion of power, similar to that in the slaveholding States of our own country.

Mary Has Congress any right to make a law forbidding me to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the distressed, or requiring me to do that which God has commanded me not to do?

No, Mary. The King of Glory is the great law-giver of the universe, and He has given no man, or body of men, any right to make laws requiring us to disobey his holy commands.

To do it would be rebellion against the King of kings. And those men who enacted that bill of abominations, called the fugitive slave law, had no more right to do it, than they had to lie, steal or murder. And those who have executed it, had no more right to do so than they had to engage in piracy or murder.

And if our government should consent to compromise principle now to please the opposers of the poor, it would prove itself a traitor to both God and humanity, and poverty would place the names of the guilty actors beneath the feet of Ben'dy Arnold.

Our Heavenly Father has established a just rule of conduct, and the government, and the government and the

to conform their actions thereto, and from this obligation there is no escape.

Dear children, remember these things, for the hour is coming when you will need to understand them.

Affectionately yours,

MAPLE COTTAGE, Feb. 6, 1861.

DEACON T.—

THE NEW PHILANTHROPIST

WHAT RAREY TEACHES MEN IN TEACHING HORSES.

The *Christian Inquirer* awards to Mr. Rarey the credit of being more than a tamer of horses. He is a philanthropist and a philosopher, and teaches men suggestive lessons. This new application of the Rarey theory is that set forth:

He is a humanitarian reformer, and many of the ideas which, in plain and forcible language, he utters with the hearty eloquence of earnestness and sincerity, are capable of a large, round-about application to men as well as horses. His method of educating Cruiser would be equally good for Master Tommy, and the reformer who seeks to hurl the evils of the world overboard, might take a useful lesson from his "masterly" inaptitude; and readiness to allow the horse to take time to think, examine, and make up his mind.

"Some of his sentences are maxims of wisdom:

"A Nature never lies."

"The horse is honest."

"The mind of a horse governs a horse, as the mind of a man governs a man. If you wish, therefore, to get control of the horse's body, first learn to direct his mind."

"The gentle touch is more powerful than blows."

"Women are better drivers than men, because they have a gentler touch."

"Firmness and kindness are all the magic there is in my method."

"Fear or anger in the mind of his driver is instantly known to the horse."

The fact is, that, without knowing it, Mr. Rarey is a genius—a great discoverer. His way of obtaining control and guidance of the horse-force of the world according to normal principles, is as good a discovery in that sphere as the invention of methods to control and apply steam, fire water, gas, electricity, in natural mechanism. He will rank hereafter with Morse, Fulton, Franklin, and other illustrious men, who have learned how to direct the great forces of the world, before running, comparatively, to waste, into the channels of human improvement and happiness. The problem is, how to take hold of the horse-power by the handle, as Providence designed we should—not by the edge, as course, blundering men usually do."—*Evening Post.*

There is much of truth in the above, undoubtedly, but it is not the whole truth. The horse is still found as his Creator first made him, which is more than can be said of man. The instincts of the horse are natural, but those of man are perverted. The horse never had a moral nature to be perverted. The horse knows his owner, and the man his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. Rarey cannot tame men, he tames horses, though it is doubtless true that sympathy and kindness should be employed in the education and government of them.

A MILLIONAIRE'S MUSINGS.

"Hem! I've grown a little hard of hearing, of late, but I caught that, just as the two men turned round the corner. There goes old Morgan the Millionaire, rich as Croesus and hard as iron, wonder what good the money he grips so tight will do him, a score of years hence?"

"And so that's what men say of me, is it?—Morgan the old Millionaire! And I've spent my own life—all the hours of my youth, the strength of my manhood, and the years of my old age—for this!"

"It's a fact, I'm a millionaire this day. John Morgan, your hairs are gray, and your face is seamed with wrinkles, and your life has slipped over its seventieth birthday, and in houses and lands, in bank stock and railroad shares, in coal mines and heavy cargoes, you can count down this day your half million of dollars."

"It sounds strange enough, as I repeat the words over, and go back to the time when I worked on Squire Muscat's farm for six dollars a month and my board. I said I'd be a rich man then, some day, and I beat myself to the task. soul and body, night and day. I toiled early and late, and I've got a million of dollars to show for it."

"It was a hard struggle, but I was sharp, and watched my chance, and luck favored me. I don't like to think of all the strings I pulled to get money, for if a man's bent on making it, he needn't be squeamish; and though I was sometimes a little hard, and shaved here, and took advantage there, still, I wasn't worse than other men, and I was always certain to keep inside the law."

"And now, men will bow and ergo to me and almost go down on their knees to get my name to their paper, and say hard things of me and behind my back, and when I die I don't suppose there's a living soul that would shed an honest tear over me, though I shall be certain to lie under the shadow of a great marble monument."

"Somehow, sitting here in my office this morning, and looking back over my life, it doesn't seem as if the million of dollars had paid, after all, but when the greed and the thine for gain get possession of a man, everything else must go—for of God and love of man; his life and soul must be given up to the service of the world."

"I am an old man, and a millionaire, and I shall be dropping into my grave in a little while, and I've got precious little capital to take into another world, for I fancy 'Rich Man' don't read there as it does here."

"I don't like to think of my home, my wife, my children! Poor Mary! she was a sweet, simple-hearted girl when I took her in her fair young girlhood, to walk with me all the days of my life. I promised to love, and cherish, and protect her, but I buried myself up in business, and seldom had a loving word or a smile for the home to which I went every night cold, and silent, and crusty!"

"I can't blam her if she turned at last to the world, and sought rest in her aching heart for dress, and show and splendor, and became at last, a vain, heartless, fashionable woman."

"What a palace home we had! My money filled it with luxury, but the gold didn't bring happiness! and I don't like to think of that last hour of my wife's, when she woke out of her long fever, and gasped out, 'John, I'm an old woman, and I'm going to leave you, and my life's been a terrible mistake—I see it all now—a terrible mistake!'

"I don't like to think of my children, either. There are my boys, miserable, dissipated spendthrifts—counting on the years before the old man will be gone, so they can make my money fly; there are my daughters, married and fortune hunters, proud, showy, silly women, their whole life consisting in dress, and parties, and splendid follies."

"And this is to be an old man and a millionaire! I wonder if it pays? I wonder, if I could go back to the years of my youth again, if I would give all my life to heaping up the gold that has only wrought an old age of bitter memories for me, a death of anguish for my wife, and ruin for the children God gave me."

"No, sir, it doesn't pay; but it's too late to alter things now, and the best we can do is to leave a hundred thousand dollars in my Will, to endow some orphan asylum."

"It'll make his work among the heirs when they hear of it, but the old man won't sleep the less sound for all the noise they'll make over his Will, and it'll seem like making a little compensation for some days in my life that I don't quite like to face. But, after all, a million of dollars don't pay—it don't pay!"—*The World we live in.*

POISON ANTIDOTE.

It is now over twenty years since I learned that sweet will cure the bite of a rattlesnake, not knowing that it would cure any other poison. Practice, observation and experience have taught me that it will cure poison of any kind, both man and beast. I think no farmer should be without a bottle of it in his house.

The patient must take a spoonful internally and bathe the wound for a cure. To cure a horse it requires eight times as much as it does a man. Here let me say of one of the most extreme cases of snake-bite in this neighborhood, a few years ago, this summer, where the case had been over thirty hours standing, and the patient given up by his doctor, I heard of it, carried the oil, gave him one spoonful which created a cure. It is an antidote for arsenic and strichnine. It will cure blot in cattle, caused by eating too much of fresh clover, it will cure the scorpion, spider, or any insects; and it will also cure persons who have been poisoned by a low running vine growing in meat we eat fed by it.—[A farmer

SOME TRUTH IN IT.

One man who has never had a sister, or a brother, has had his life, far more the slave of female caprice than he who has been brought up in a house full of girls. He who has not had sisters, has had no experience of the behind-scenes life of the female world; he has never heard one syllable about the plans, and schemes, and devices by which hearts are snared. He fancies Mary stuck that mouse in her hair in a moment of childish caprice; that Katie ran after her little sister and showed the prettiest of sinks in doing it, out of the irrepressible gaiety of her buoyant spirits. In a word, he is one who only sees the play when the house is fully lighted and all the actors in their gay costume; he has never witnessed a rehearsal, and has the very vaguest suspicion of a prompter. To him, therefore, who has only experienced the rough companionship of brothers—or worse still, has lived entirely alone—the acquaintance-ship with young lady world is such a fascination as no words can describe. The gentle look, the graceful features, the silvery voices, all the play and action of nature so infinitely more refined than any he has ever witnessed, are incomparably captivating. It is not alone the occupations of their hours, light, graceful and picture-que as they are, but all their topics, their thoughts, seem to soar out of that common-place world he has lived in, an idea of real beauty of poetry and beauty. Nothing so truly Elysian in life as this our first—our very first—experience of this kind.

SWEET APPLE PUDDING.

An excellent pudding is made with sweet apples, sliced in a dish, a baster of Indian meal, made by stirring thick, and boiling milk first, to scald and get the proper thickness, and then pour it warm upon the apples.—First scatter sugar among the apples and stir some into the batter.—We cook ours without any other seasoning, except sugar. The milk should be sweet and good, and when it is baked, eat with butter or sweet cream. Bake slowly a couple of hours.

SLANDER.—Mr. What-do-you-call him says his wife told him that he had been informed Mr. Stick-in-the-mud's wife's cousin had heard how that Mrs. Tattle guessed she saw somebody go into Wiggins' house, when nobody could have been there but Mrs. Wiggins. We hardly credit the report, but feel it our duty to circulate it.

FRAGMENT OF ARABIC POETRY.—An Arabian having brought a blight to a maiden's cheek by the earnestness of his gaze, said to her: "My looks have planted roses in your cheeks: why forbid me to gather them? The law permits him who sows to reap the harvest."

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